Warmest holiday greetings . . .

. . . to all our readers. And thank you for your loyal support, encouragement and common sense criticism throughout the year. May the holiday season, and all the year to come, give you all the good things of life, especially the peace on earth—and in outer space—for which we have worked together.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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THE 86TH OPENS JAN. 7

New Congress facing a mountain of bills; liberals need a push

By Louis E. Burnham

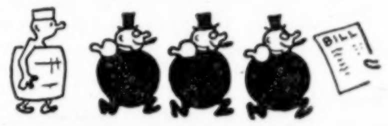
WHEN THE 86TH CONGRESS convenes Jan. 7 it will face a mountainous backlog of unmet national needs. The population has grown by 15,000,000 in the past six years. The official indifference of a Big Business administration has multiplied the social and economic problems.

With the exception of the giant corporations, no section of the population has escaped the consequences of the Eisenhower policies. Workers, farmers, professionals and small businessmen have suffered some distress or threat to their security as a result of the continuing recession, periodic price-hikes in an inflated economy, and an outmoded social security program.

In the past two Congresses the inadequacy of the President's program has been matched by the poor quality of the opposition. Though the Democrats controlled both the 84th and 85th Congresses by small majorities, issues were rarely sharply drawn. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson and House Speaker Sam Rayburn spent as much time preventing fellow-Democrats from overstepping the bounds of "moderation" as in offering feeble alternatives to the Administration's legislative requests.

THE HOPES: Last month the voters seemed to say they had had enough. While they could not reach Johnson, Rayburn and their conservative cronies in the one-party South, they replaced a number of Republicans with Democrats who campaigned on liberal platforms. The Democrats now have a lopsided control of both houses which has stimulated hopes that the 86th Congress may make up for the shortcomings of its predecessors.

Evidence that some Democratic leaders had not mis-read the voters' mood came in the recent actions of the Democratic National Committee. By a vote of 91-15, the Committee rebuffed Louisiana Democrats who had sought to remove Camille F. Gravel Jr. as a committeeman because of his moderate stand on civil rights. Then, over Gravel's objections, the Committee went on to commend its national chairman, Paul Butler, who had called for a firm party stand on civil rights and virtually challenged the South to fall in line or walk out.



Following the National Committee's sessions, the party's Advisory Committee drew up a 6,000-word legislative program. Butler called the document the "most comprehensive" statement yet framed by the group. The Advisory Committee was set up in 1956 to provide a liberal appearance for a party whose Congressional machinery is controlled by conservatives. Whether its recommendations would become law would depend largely on whether Johnson, Rayburn and other Democratic leaders who have formerly opposed the committee will now push its program.

COLD WAR LIMITS: But even the Advisory Committee statement indicates that legislative battles in the next Congress

(Continued on Page 9)

CYPRUS AND ALGERIA MUST WAIT FOR FREEDOM

UN Assembly winds up in a flurry of nothingness

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE UNITED NATIONS General Assembly wound up its 13th session last week in a blaze of oratory involving three agenda items packed with drama: Cyprus, Hungary and Algeria.

Discussion of the fate of the 500,000 persons living on British-held Cyprus—Greeks outnumber the Turks four to one—provoked bitter debate and brought forth a bewildering variety of resolutions. But through the torrent of words several trends were discernible.

Greece, backing the Cypriots seeking their freedom from British rule, had discarded the idea of Enosis (unity of Cyprus with Greece) and was espousing the cause of independence for Cyprus. This had the backing of most of the Asian-African and all the socialist nations. Britain was desperately trying to hang on to the island, its one big base in the eastern Mediterannean, from which London and Paris launched their attack on Egypt.

PARTITION AGAIN: The U.S. and its allies showed a preference for the British view, since Cyprus was considered to be a valuable base by NATO as well. Belgium, Colombia, Mexico and Iran tried to smother the debate with a variety of vague resolutions, all calling for continued but purposeless negotiations.

Noting that none of these resolutions stood a chance of obtaining the two-thirds Assembly majority needed for a substantial issue, since the socialist nations and most Afro-Asians opposed them, Turkey tried to create a dangerous diversion. It offered a resolution to partition Cyprus into Greek and Turkish regions.

This was strenuously opposed by those who vividly recalled the old imperialist trick of partitioning a colony to keep it weak. India said that partition has always brought suffering in its wake, as on the Indian subcontinent itself, in Ireland and in Palestine, and that it has also been suggested for Kashmir. In the end, the tired Assembly members without a vote tacitly approved an anemic Mexican res-

(Continued on Page 9)

TO END UN-AMERICAN PROBES

Abolition gaining ground

WHEN CONGRESS convenes on Jan. 7, 17 California members of the House will have in hand a petition requesting them to move for elimination of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Last week a signature campaign for 100,000 petitioners, organized by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, was extended to Jan. 1 in response to support that was mounting throughout the Los Angeles area.

The executive committee of the California Democratic Council, club movement of the Democratic Party, approved sending a letter to all Democratic clubs urging circulation of the petition. Rev. Maurice Dawkins, Los Angeles NAACP president, mailed petitions to several thousand NAACP members suggesting that they secure signatures in their churches.

SEEK LABOR SUPPORT: Several hundred leading Methodist laymen received petitions from the social action committee of the Methodist church. And prominent ministers placed the petition in the hands of another 2,000 Protestant leaders.

Sponsors of the campaign were hoping for major support from the labor movement. The greater Los Angeles CIO

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How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 11—(UPI)—Indiana's school children will get a chance to read a controversial textbook for the first time in six years.

The State Textbook Commission returned Magruder's government book to the state's approved textbook-list for high school seniors. It was banned six years ago when P.T.A. groups, veterans' organizations and business leaders objected to certain passages.

In the old book, Magruder defined Socialism like this:

"Socialism means the use of government to bring about equality of opportunity among citizens."

"Socialism means the distribution of income to each according to what he has contributed towards its production. It strives to create an equal opportunity for all."

—Terre Haute Star, 12/12

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under the heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E.W., Shelburn, Ind.

The Mail Bag

Honoring May 17

SYRACUSE, N.Y.

In its pamphlet, "A Guide for the Selection of U.S. Commemorative Postage Stamps," the Post Office Dept. states: "Events having widespread national appeal and significance may receive consideration for issuance of commemorative postage stamps."

Such an event occurred five years ago next May 17. The decision of the Supreme Court which outlawed racial segregation in the public schools will be five years old. By issuing a commemorative stamp marking this great event, the U.S. would be doing a not inconsiderable service in publicizing the steady march towards racial justice.

Anyone who wishes to urge the printing of such a stamp should write Postmaster-General Arthur Summerfield, Post Office Dept., Washington 25, D. C., or the Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee, same address.

John Boardman

A son's hope

CHICAGO, ILL.

Writing on this Thanksgiving Day, I wish to express my thanks to the many prominent people who have attempted to have my dad, Gil Green, reunited with us for today. It has been eight years since he sat at the head of our table carving the turkey, and we miss him very much. Our only hope is that between now and next year, my dad will receive parole or executive clemency and will be able to fill the empty chair which is waiting for him.

Ralph Green, 13

A valued critic

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

As the holiday season nears, it is a pleasure and honor for me again to affirm the very special value that the GUARDIAN has for me and, I believe, for all decent-minded Americans. In my opinion you are the most important and influential force for progress in American life today. Consequently I am delighted to renew my subscription at this time and to add a modest financial contribution as well as to accept your generous offer of a gift book. During the last year I have obtained at least 10 dollar subscribers, four of whom have already sent in their renewals, and hope to do at least as well in 1959.

During 1958, you have held to your previously established high quality and have made a number of significant improvements. All of your veteran staff writers and contributors have continued the excellent quality of their previous production. The work of Louis Burnham, newest member of your staff, I believe, has been unsurpassed. Your increased attention this year to book reviews, movies, plays, etc., have also been most welcome. Your letter columns and your cartoons are a delight.

In this spirit I wish for still further improvement: More consistent coverage of the Washington scene, but in terms of legislative and administrative activity; more consistent attention to the labor movement.

Finally, a mild word of criticism. I agree with your election eve editorial statement concerning support to socialist candidates, independent candidates and progressive candidates who run on the Democratic or Republican tickets, such as our new Congressman from Vermont, Stratton from upstate New York, and others. In view of this, I was dismayed to find you supporting all the SWP candidates in Pennsylvania, my home state, without one article concerning the Pennsylvania issues, candidates, etc. I do believe that this was a much oversimplified approach.

Albert Silverman

On the Soviet radio

FAR ROCKAWAY, N.Y.

The Radio Moscow programs beamed to the U.S., contrary to the dyspeptic column of Elmer Bendiner (Dec. 1) are intensely interesting. Anyone listening in to the daily programs will be amply rewarded by short and stimulating programs on every aspect of Soviet life. For those interested in sports there is complete coverage of all important events. They also have a lively "Question and Answer" program once a week.

Bendiner states "the news is heavy with diplomatic or economic notes"; the one usually deals with the tireless Soviet efforts to get this world safely away from the brink, and the other may be adding up to nothing less than the achievement by the U.S.S.R. of the highest standard of living in the world, second to none. And within 12-15 years.

David Kaplan

On the Vatican

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

We were especially happy about the article by Elmer Bendiner, "Medievalism in the age of Sputnik—How the Vatican Operates" (Nov. 10). Hope that people will read and digest it.

We just read **The Star Gazer,** by Zsolt de Harsanyi, the life of Galileo. Must say it excited us to learn that for centuries the Popes have been exerting their power over millions of people and still do.

R. B. Fischer

Wall Street Journal

"This one is 12% wool, 18% nylon, 32% rayon, 22% cotton and 16% other stuff."

Chauncy S. Curtis

CHICAGO, ILL.

The enclosed Ten Toward Another Ten is in honor of my dear husband, Chauncy S. Curtis, who left us in September, 1954. Over and above earning a living, no one did more for the cause of peace and democracy, for the Progressive Party or for the GUARDIAN.

Nothing will be in vain if we all "Keep on keepin' on." You have done a wonderful job.

Astrid L. Curtis

"The Big Brainwash"

BOISE, IDAHO

For cripe's sake, why don't you print a review of Dyson Carter's new book, **The Big Brainwash** (Northern Book House, 1334 Bloor West, Toronto 4, Canada)? Red Hot; right down our alley.

Clifford Higby

Special thanks

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In an age that tends largely to prefer the sensational, the pre-digested thought, that tends to idolize a few at the expense of the many, it is heartening that the GUARDIAN, a paper so small in size and wide in scope of interest, has given our book, **The Tune of the Calliope,** poems and drawings of New York, such full recognition (review by E. B., 11/17).

We give special thanks for the keen appreciation expressed of the essential esthetic and collective aspects of the book as a whole. Those of us who worked so hard to edit and get the book into print are greatly encouraged.

Saul Lishinsky

A leg up

ERWIN, TENN.

Isn't it wonderful the way our old, dumb Dulles, who is trying to deceive and enslave the "backward" boys for his Oil Trust connections, generally manages to give them a leg up? He was going to prevent Egypt's building the Aswan Dam — and now Egypt has got the Suez Canal and will soon have the damn dam all dammed up and heap plenty water for her thirsting land too!

Ernest Seeman

HOLIDAY REPORT

To you & you

SEEK PEACE and after it pursue; do good, and evil quite eschew—from the Pilgrims' psalter we take this cue for our Yuletide message to you and you. In the foregoing spirit of upcoming Yule: Cheers for the crew of the Golden Rule! To Linus Pauling (but not to Teller), we say the same as to A.A. Heller, Mandel Terman, that Farmer feller, Resisters Rustin & Rev. McCrackin, the Peacemakers out at Interlachen, peregrine Paul & Dr. DuBois, Muste & all the Doty boys, Florence Luscomb & young Don Murray, Walkers for Peace & those in a hurry, Kelly Mayhew & and the Phoenix crew, Dorothy Day & Ammon, too: Christmas DEPENDS on folks like you! Likewise, that goes for Chanukah, too. (The Bomb we quite eschew, like you.)

RIGHTS hang high on our Chanukah bush. Earl the Robin and John LaTouche set them to music in the Ballad. Hail to all who are making them solid: Carl & Anne Braden, Martin L. King (for them a special carol we sing); of fighting parsons there is no dearth, Abernathy & Shuttleworth. Cheer the Williamses, Claude & Aubrey; Harry Sacher & H. Lowndes Maury. Harry Golden & P. D. East, for them a scrumptious holiday feast. Gifts via Dancer, Prancer & Vixen, for Perlin, Kinoy, Donner & Blitzen; Barney & Hymen, Pearl & Ira; Gloria, Blanch & William Heikkila. For Abner & Alex, Forer & Rein, spice a noggin of very good wine.

BRING A TORCH, Jeannette, Isabella, for Father Duffy, Don & Ella, Henry W. & Anita, Irwin Corey & Nikita; D. & B. & Sean O'Casey, and our undercover agent at Erwin Wasey. Diadems from gold gemacht, for George Stryker and Max Bedacht, Barrie Stavis & C. Wright Mills, Sid & Maxine, the Rev. Hills; the Gellerts, Hugo, Larry & Otto; Hellman, Lightfoot, Scales & Noto.

Mistletoe for all our Rosies, Paulas, Amys, Lils & Josies; Helens, Louises, Margarets & Annes, Fredas, Virginias & Suzannes; Millies, Tillies, Muriels, Gladyses & other gals. To yonder peasant at the manger, Homer Ayres; and Lion Feuchtwanger, Aaron Braude & William Warde, Emily Pierson & Nora Barney, Dorothy Parker & Arnaud D'Usseau, Harry K. & Ted Shapiro; the Cleveland Seven & Dr. Sackley, J. D. Bernal & Harlow Shapley, Harold Davies, Aneurin Bevan; seats in the highest realms of Heaven!

NECKTIES OF THE FINEST SILK for Bridges, Emspak & their ilk; our chaps at Hurley & Daly's pub, the Victor Levitt Poker Club; Alex Munsel & Liberty Book, Carey McWilliams & Fred Cook; Zero, Eliot, Lloyd & Johnny; Jack & Ossie & Morris Carnovsky.

Cantatas to Ronnie & Betty S.; Dames Ray Lev & Myra Hess; nosegays to Sarah, Gale & Ruby; Karen, Ann Revere & Phoebe, Comfort & joy to J. N. McCullough, Ernie Seeman & J. G. Mueller, Helen Silver & Ann Leboy, David Hyun & Eugene Moy, Sapulpa's Mooney, Alaska's Pozzi, Picasso & Mrs. Eskenazi. Rest ye merry, old Fred Berry, the Hallinan tribe & Karolyn Kerry, Gurley Flynn & William Z., the Weisses and those that end with 'e'; politicos like Henry A.; Mulzac, Annette and Scott K. Gray; and (though he differed with you-all) Merry Christmas to Irwin Suall! 'Tis the season to be mellow: so, greetings to Comrade Rockefellow. Boughs of holly to Lillian Reiner, Jane & Liz & Sherry Feiner, Hobart McKean and P. G. Roll, Dorothy Haven & Lester Cole; all our Buck of the Month supporters, our many friends across the waters, corespondents, near & far, Tabitha, Cedric & Anne Bauer; Ursula, Wilfred & Anna Louise, the Wheelers and all the little Whees. Wassail, too, for Dr. Ed., George & Henry, Simon Fed., Corliss L. & Royal France; Natasha M. & Noel Heermance; Jack Fox, Maury & Tiba, too; Holland R. & two guys named Hugh.

POTS OF LUCK to Sidney Gluck, Robert Karger & Friar Tuck; Elmer Benson & Beanie B., Danbury's Paul & Maury T.; Bert & Harry, Olga & Phil; Craig & Jenny, Michael Quill; a wide assortment of Mikes & Ikes; Rod & Kathy, Pettus & Sykes; Yuri Suhl, Westchester's Pousada; and people who live down the line much farther, like Fire Island, Hampton Bays, Sneden's Landing and the one at May's; Great Neck, Roslyn (both Heights and lowlands) and all our old friends up at Slingerlands; Glen Wild, Kerhonkson, the east and west Bronx & Brooklyn, Queens and all stops to Orleans.

FORTUNE to all our advertisers: services & merchandisers, concerts, lectures, publications; forums and all such altercations; we like to feel that we are inseparable. We're happy to welcome "Repair the Irreparable," "Pianos, Pianos," "Move without Tears" and other newcomers to those down the years.

Through prison walls we wish these well: Green, Winston, Bryson, Sobell (and their tormentors all to Hell); Alfred Dean Slack and Mrs. Ingram, clemency's the gift for them.

Should old acquaintance be forgot (Pete Seeger, Helen Scott); it's only because our rimes are feeble (Leetonia's Marshall, Leesville's Keeble) and shortly we'll run out of space (Pop Mindel, Alice Chase). So here's to all a splendiferous Chanukah (Kate R. Young of Santa Monica) and a great New Year for each of you from all of us here in the GUARDIAN crew.

Ten years ago in the Guardian

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST ARMY that has defeated Chiang is now a regular army and the second biggest army in the world. A product of revolution and civil war, it cannot be measured with orthodox military yardsticks. Its amazing feature is that it grew at the cost of the Chinese Nationalist army. Today Chiang is being defeated by his own soldiers of yesterday armed with American weapons.

—Max Werner in the GUARDIAN, Dec. 20, 1948.

THE CASE FOR DISSOLUTION

Senate study reveals how GM makes super-profits

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

MORE POLITICAL and economic high-explosive is packed into a recent report on administered prices in the automobile industry than into any document that has come out of Congress for some time. It was issued by the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly of which Sen. Estes Kefauver is chairman.

News coverage and press comment have been superficial, partly because the report requires technical understanding, and partly because it makes out a vigorous case for dissolution of the world's largest corporation, General Motors, sales of whose many products last year totaled $11 billion. GM also spent $144 million advertising its products in 1957.

The report sheds light upon the greatest problem of modern industry—how to organize production and distribution so that the benefits of science and technology will do the most good for the most people—and it reveals how the topsy-turvy economics of the automobile industry block progress toward a sound economy of abundance.

A CHALLENGE: The report is a challenge to the American people to devise institutions capable of bringing under social controls one of the greatest concentrations of economic power in the world. Only by devising such controls, many believe, can we save ourselves from something resembling fascism.

The facts reveal that price competition between the automobile Big Three—

Eccles in London Worker
"SORRY—NO MONEY!"

General Motors, Ford and Chrysler—has virtually disappeared. These companies account for more than 90% of new car registrations, with GM as the "price leader." The other two manufacturers fix the prices of comparable cars as nearly as they can by the GM line.

The way GM figures its price tags is an Alice-In-Wonderland upside-down version of economics taught in most colleges.

HOW IT'S DONE: Testimony of Donaldson Brown, vice president in charge of finances, and, incidentally, political campaign "handout man" for many years, showed that GM prices are set by a small group of top officials, after extensive staff studies. They appear to be nearly independent of market influences and are designed to produce an annual return of 15% on "capital employed in the business," including borrowed funds.

Figured on the base of net worth, or stockholder equity in the company, this works out at about 20%. Price calculations are based on what the company considers "standard volume" of production, or about 80% of practical plant capacity.

Under this system the company as a whole has never operated at a loss—not even during the darkest days of the Great Depression—although it refuses to let Congress look at the books of its various divisions—Chevrolet, Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac, Cadillac, etc. GM can operate at between 40 to 45 percent of capacity without losing a cent. When it operates at more than "standard volume," it exceeds its own fantastic profit goals.

LEAPING PROFITS: For instance, in 1955, a banner year for GM, it sold 155% of "standard volume" of production, and earned profits after taxes amounting to 31% of stockholders' investment.

"The rates of return in 1929 and in 1950 were comparable, 36.2% and 37.5% respectively," the report points out. "The 1929 rate was achieved with a before-tax rate (of earnings) of 38.5% of average stockholders' investment. In 1950 the company had to make a profit equal to 77.4% of its average stockholders' investment in order to earn 37.5% after taxes."

The drive for such exorbitant profits is stimulated largely by intense competition outside the field of prices. Emphasis is on styling, the result of the discovery by advertising men that emotional drives of people can be exploited. The kind of car a man buys generally represents, as nearly as he can manage, what he would like the world to think about him. In this rivalry every medium of mass communication is used. The result is that the cost of designing, producing, and selling new models each year has skyrocketed.

HIGH OVERHEAD: Thus, overhead charges have become a major cost of today's automobiles, eating up the economies of great savings in labor cost. Combined items of overhead based upon style changes and promotion for GM zoomed from $182.6 million in 1937 to $1,405.4 million in 1957, an increase in 20 years of 670%.

The automotive industry has become trapped in these costs because the tendency has been to intensify style changes and promotional drives when sales decline. This forces costs per car sharply upward, making it difficult to reduce price tags in order to sell more cars—the action that is supposed to keep the economy on an even keel. Instead, factory prices remain rigid.

What is more, the report offers considerable evidence that re-styling and advertising probably do not materially increase sales for the industry as a whole—but mainly bring about a redistribution of business between companies. GM has so many advantages in this kind of warfare that the result is greater power for the dominant corporation.

DIVERSIFIED ACTIVITIES: One of GM's big advantages over rivals is the variety of products other than automobiles in which it holds important industry positions. For years it has been the largest recipient of defense contracts. The list of its products is impressive. And it has almost unlimited access to capital. The story of how it dominates the automobile industry is spelled out in detail.

In so brief a review it is impossible to give more than a slight idea of the scope of this report. It is a rich and fascinating analysis of how monopoly inhibits the widest distribution of benefits from modern technology—and dissipates progress in waste. Automobile prices could be cut and wages raised, and still leave reasonable profits for shareholders, if it were not for this nonsense.

(The report may be purchased for $1 from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., as "Administered Prices: Automobiles, A Report Pursuant to S. Res. 231, 85th Congress, 2d Session.")

THEY HAD TO OVERTURN A 94-YEAR-OLD LAW

Harry Bridges weds Miss Noriko Sawada

LONGSHORE LEADER Harry Bridges and Noriko Sawada were married on Dec. 10 in Reno. But in order to do so they had to overturn a Nevada law that had been on the books for 94 years. Twice Bridges and Miss Sawada, a Nisei—American of Japanese descent—applied for a marriage license and were refused. Then District Judge Taylor Wines ordered the County Clerk to issue the license or appear in court to show cause why he should not.

Armed with the judge's order the couple tried again. Asst. county clerk Viola Givens asked Miss Sawada: "You're a Japanese, aren't you?" Bridges answered for her: "She is not. She is Nisei, born in the United States." Mrs. Givens said: "It isn't where she was born; it's her blood stream that counts." Mrs. Givens refused to issue the license.

The case went swiftly to Judge Wines' court room where District Atty. Emil Gezelin contended that an 1864 Nevada law, barring marriages between a Caucasian and an Oriental, was still valid and that other states enforced similar laws.

Judge Wines said: "The situation here is not bound by other states. Certainly we do not want to be associated with Little Rock." Earlier he had said: "A right to marry is the right of the individual, not of the race." He ordered the county clerk to issue the license and immediately afterward the couple were married in a civil ceremony.

The difficulties spotlighted the scandal of marriage laws in the nation: 30 states still forbid marriages of white and Negro. Of these, 15 also ban marriages of white and Oriental and five forbid marriages of white and Indian. In 1948 a California law very like Nevada's was ruled invalid by the State Supreme Court, but an attempt to repeal it in 1949 failed. Eight states forbid cohabitation among persons of different races. Violations of the statutes in many of these states are punishable by jail terms and fines.

UAW LEADER SAYS HIS CHIEF WAS MISUNDERSTOOD

Reuther 'corrects' Meany on need for a third party

GEORGE MEANY, president of the AFL-CIO, on Dec. 9 tentatively raised the question of a third party as labor's political solution—and Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers (AFL-CIO), apparently outflanking Meany on the right, promptly shot it down.

Meany told the merger convention of the New York State AFL and CIO: "I have always said we do not want our own political party, but if we have to do that to lick the people who want to drag us back to the past, we will start our own political party and do a good job of it."

It was not the first time Meany had threatened reluctantlyy to take the path of political independence for labor. In December, 1955, when he was appealing to the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers for "understanding," he said that labor might be "forced" to start its own party. He quickly backed down on that occasion and said that the AFL-CIO had no intention of starting such a party.

REUTHERIZATION: A year later he appeared on a N.Y. **Times** Youth Forum television program and said a labor party was out of the question: "We're doing very well without one."

This year's performance had the same tentative quality of a two-step dance but, before Meany could step back, Reuther jumped up and conducted the retreat:

"I think Mr. Meany was misunderstood. The American labor movement is committed to work within the framework of the two-party system. A labor party is wrong because it would further fragmentize our society. We need less division and more unity."

Before Reuther backed down for him Meany said: "If labor ever became so class conscious as to go out and work in the political field, we would hold the balance of power in elections." He warned business to follow the tactic of "sending the money in and staying the hell out themselves." He implied that if business agreed to that labor would do likewise: "I would like it much better if we did not have to talk about politics—if we could talk only about our relations with employers."

THE MERGERS: The New York merger was accomplished in seeming harmony after three years of wrangling. Harold C. Hanover, former president of the State Federation of Labor, became president of the merged group. Louis Hollander, former president of the state CIO, became chairman of the new group's executive council and also chairman of its political and community activities. Salaries for top officers were set at $15,000 with an additional $3,400 for "unreimbursed expenditures." Hollander declined his pay, however. He continues as a salaried official of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

California's labor movement also merged this month but the inner feuding seemed more obvious than in New York. The N.Y. **Times** reported "a marked lack of enthusiasm," with some delegates talking of a "shotgun wedding."

INDIA'S COMMUNIST STATE OF KERALA—II

The opposition concentrates on school control

By Cedric Belfrage
COCHIN, KERALA STATE

THE CHIEF THEME of the foes of Kerala's Communist government is that "insecurity" now reigns throughout the state, following an orgy of "labor violence" and "political murders." These and other grievances were registered with your correspondent by Congress Party secy. Udaya Bhanu, Praja Socialist leader Thanu Pillai who has twice been Chief Minister, and Benedict Mar Gregorios, Archbishop of Trivandrum.

Thanu Pillai said "people are no longer secure in their property" because the police "do not act against Communists" and the Law Minister "has cases against them quashed if he can." (The Law Minister is one of three Independents in the cabinet, but for Thanu Pillai is "worse than a Communist").

Udaya Bhanu says India's Communists have "always been associated with violence" and are now "trying to create hatred against white capitalists and the central government, and to subvert the constitution in every way. You feel that if they don't like you they may take the law into their own hands."

The Archbishop said: "I heard a police officer say there had been 23 political murders under this government. The police are helpless and can only look on when there is trouble." Declaring that he himself felt "deeply insecure," he said of The Christophers, blue-shirted Catholic youth organization which has been sporadically active here: "Purely for self-defense—it's not an organization but a movement, and it has nothing to do with me. The government says the police's duty is to defend labor against capital, but the police should be impartial as in the past. If you don't defend yourself, no one else will."

THE REBUTTAL: Government supporters, admitting the difficulty of handling a police force long used to acting against labor and the Left, claim that Kerala has less murder and violence than almost any state; but that according to the anti-government propagandists, "when there is murder now, the perpetrator is always a Communist and the victim an anti-Communist."

The most publicized case of court "leniency toward Communists" was a rape-murder in which all the accused were acquitted and, reported the anti-Communist **Weekly Kerala**, the judge said "all were Communists." The government examined the court record and "regretted to observe that the quoted passage does not appear in the judgment at all."

On The Christophers, government supporters estimate its strength at about 10,000 and say it came into being to fight the Education Bill and has also been helping landlords to evict poor peasants. On "insecurity" they suggest that slave-holders made similar complaints when slavery was abolished under the British regime, and that the peasantry never felt so secure.

A group of peasants, with quarter-acre holdings or none at all, agreed that "unemployment continues, but we expect some forest land from the new government and we can move about more freely now." A 30c-per-day worker, one of about 50 of many political shadings who crowded around us in a small-town teashop, said: "Insecurity? It is all false propaganda." Another said: "Yes, there is insecurity," and when I asked, "For whom?", got a general laugh with: "For the rich."

THE SCHOOLS: The Archbishop devoted most of the interview to the Education Bill, which he described as "in fact a bill for entirely government-managed schools." Of Kerala's nearly 12,000 schools, some 7,000 are "private" under management of Christian denominations, Hindu trusts, etc. The government has raised and removed discriminations from school salaries.

There is no interference with religious teaching provided it does not conflict with regular hours, but all schools must conform to curriculum standards and hire teachers from a Public Service Commission list of eligibles.

To the Archbishop the new bill is "a slur on our honor" and "deprives us of any control over the teachers." The PSC is "not acceptable" because "40% of its eligibles are from backward communities, mostly Communists. If we are forced to accept Communist teachers we shall close down." He also objects violently to the revised textbooks now issued, which "hide the ugly aspects of communism" in the U.S.S.R. and China and "represent Christ as a mere man." Last year the Catholic hierarchy sparked three federal court actions against the state's education policies, and lost all.

IT'S HIS FORTUNE THAT'S AT STAKE
Few children in India have clothes or enough to eat

The bill was adopted by the Assembly on Nov. 28, but again is expected to be taken to court.

TRADITION OF TOLERANCE: Minister of Education Joseph Mundaseri, a political Independent of Catholic family, for 28 years a college professor and author of 20 books in Kerala's Malayali language, said: "Nothing in the Education Bill differs substantially from the one already drafted by the previous [Congress] government of which I have a copy here. Kerala has a long tradition of liberalism and tolerance in education. We are proud of the fact that over 90% of our children go to primary school, and now we are concerned about fitting the curriculum more closely to the need.

"The new textbooks merely do justice to all countries including socialist, put more stress on science and avoid mythology and unfounded theories without condemning religion. We have in fact leaned over to give the Catholics what they want within the limits that any modern government would consider reasonable."

An eminent intellectual, a devout but liberal Catholic, said: "The PSC is of long standing and isn't and cannot be partisan; this is the only way to select teachers efficiently, and one must admit that many of the priests and nuns appointed in church schools are third-class teachers.

"The way it seems to me, the Education Bill and other reforms were started on paper by Congress and these Communist fellows have the courage to try to implement them. Their downfall is freely predicted as a result, but they're still there."

THE 'SMALL PROJECT': This appraisal seems reasonable when one considers that every act of the Kerala government is subject to federal and constitutional tests. It cannot, for example, expropriate land without compensation, but can and will control methods of payment and see that poorer landlords get more (the "plantations," however, are excluded altogether from expropriations.)

Congress right-wingers talk of federal "intervention" in Kerala, but Prime Minister Nehru fails to get excited and, recently opening the Kerala pavilion at New Delhi's "India 1958" exhibition, paid the Kerala government an oblique compliment in stressing "the importance of the small project" and of mobilizing the masses. This is just where "Communist" Kerala is laying stress, and it helps explain the fury of big business, big landlords and bankers.

Kerala's 5-billion-rupee "Master Plan" covering 30 years from 1961, and its second five-year plan ending in 1961, include some major and desperately needed schemes for irrigation, power and modernization of farming methods. But by population, Kerala is receiving less than its share of Plan funds from Delhi, and it is spreading what it has over a multitude of minor projects.

These include small co-operative farms with government participation, more technical schools, employment exchanges, farm parity studies, community radio sets, workers' housing loans, and the like.

Many such schemes are greatly complicated by the fact that, as a high revenue official said, "this country is a paradise for contractors who have traditionally cheated" on government contracts even for "a small irrigation ditch." The government, while making it clear that honest contractors will be encouraged, is making patient efforts toward "labor contract societies" in which groups of workers undertake small projects on their own.

DISCRIMINATION: Producing only 50% of its rice needs, Kerala's biggest headache has been making up the deficit this year. Although Nehru guardedly denies it, there seems little doubt of central government discrimination against Kerala.

Delhi, which has been slowly cutting Kerala's rice allotment, said the state could get rice from the surpluses of neighboring Andhra; but Delhi bought up nearly half of Andhra's surplus and much of the rest admittedly went into the black market in Bombay and elsewhere. In finally procuring its needs from Andhra, Kerala has had to pay not the controlled but the open market price.

Chief Minister E. M. S. Nambudiripad spoke of the matter with notable moderation and good humor in a private interview with me and at a press conference where he was needled on this and other points by a 90% hostile state press. He admits partial failure in controlling prices, but has established mass support for his government on the basis of unchallenged incorruptibility, by setting minimum wages in all areas, by staying all peasant eviction proceedings, and by the distribution of government lands to the landless.

12-POINT PROGRAM

Walter-McCarran repeal is target of new campaign

A 12-POINT program giving priority to a campaign to win repeal or revision of the Walter-McCarran immigration law during the 86th Congress was adopted unanimously at the 26th annual conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born held in New York City Dec. 5-6-7.

Representatives of Protection of Foreign Born Committees in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland-Seattle, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Boston and Hartford attended, along with individuals from New York and New Jersey.

Other aspects of the 12-point program included a campaign for a statute of limitations in deportation and denaturalization laws; a special petition to the Human Rights Commission of the UN on treatment of Mexican immigrants in the U.S.; and a constitutional challenge of the government's practices in cases of legal or long-time residents.

The conference urged greater efforts to popularize the role of immigrants in the building of America, and wide promotion of Oct. 28, anniversary of the raising of the Statue of Liberty, as Appreciation of Foreign Born Day.

LOUISE SMITH RENAMED: At the annual banquet at the Hotel Belmont-Plaza the delegates heard addresses by the Rev. Harry F. Ward, Prof. Dirk Struik, attorney Joseph Forer, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Dorothy Marshall of Los Angeles, and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith. Prof. Smith, retired member of the Wellesley College faculty, has completed a book on the ACPFB's first 25 years, to be published in March.

Prof. Smith was re-elected honorary co-chairman, with the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman of Los Angeles, and Bishop Arthur W. Moulton (Ret.) of Salt Lake City. New co-chairmen are Rev. Charles A. Hill of Detroit, Rev. Mark Chamberlain of Gresham, Ore., and Dr. Willard Uphaus of New Haven. Abner Green of New York is executive secretary.

A pardon for Sacco and Vanzetti?

AMONG THE 2,915 BILLS filed with the clerks of the Massachusetts legislature for the new session was a resolution asking for a posthumous pardon for Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, put to death in that state in 1927 on a framed-up charge of murder. The petition was filed by Rep. Alexander J. Cella, Democrat, of Medford, to correct "an historic injustice." He said Sacco and Vanzetti, both radicals, were "the victims of the anti-foreigner hysteria of the times, the same hysteria that resulted in passage of restrictive immigration legislation."

Sacco, a shoe worker, and Vanzetti, a fish peddler, were accused of the murder of two men in a payroll holdup in Braintree, Mass., in 1920. Their case caused an international furor which has made their names synonymous with injustice.

RETURNS FROM FOUR COUNTRIES

Latin Americans have their say at the polls

By Elmer Bendiner

There are no landslides and clean sweeps in this year's returns from Latin America. Lacking a neat two-party system, the Latin voter (outside the dictatorships) can't express his frustrations in the North American way by simply voting the outs in. His ballot has a whole spectrum of parties representing issues, personalities, class forces and foreign connections.

The election story can't be told in traditional Left vs. Right terms because what is Left in Guatemala may be to the far Right in Venezuela, for example. The newly elected President of Chile is an arch-conservative but the returns showed the Left at its strongest in a decade. The U. S. press hailed Uruguay's vote as a turn to the Right, but to Uruguayans it looked more like a mandate for a long-overdue land reform. This is how the elections went in key races this autumn.

Venezuela

ROMULO BETANCOURT'S plurality in the Presidential race was piling up in the countryside and observers predicted it would reach 400,000 out of a total vote of 2,000,000. It was Venezuela's first honest election in ten years. The bitter-end supporters of the deposed dictatorship were out of the running. The candidate farthest to the Right, Rafael Caldera of the COPEI, a social Christian party supported by the Church, was snowed under. The Communist Party polled close to 8% of the vote, a record high for Communist strength in Venezuela. All Presidential candidates had campaigned on the same platform, promising a coalition government.

When the dictatorship was overthrown by a smoothly working united front movement last January, Romulo Betancourt was packing his bags in a New York hotel room. Betancourt went to jail for the first time in 1928 when, as a 20-year-old student, he ran afoul of the dictator Vicente Gomez. Through that and subsequent dictatorships Betancourt was either in jail, in exile or underground. In 1940 he and novelist Romulo Gallegos launched the Accion Democratica, a party which came to power five years later in a bloody revolt. He headed a revolutionary junta for three years, then broke a long-standing Venezuela precedent by peacefully turning his office over to his duly-elected successor Gallegos.

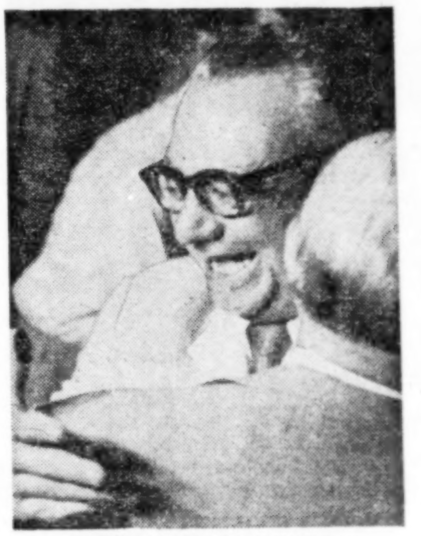
A BLOODY 10 YEARS: Accion Democratica in office proved to be anti-imperialist and a strict adherent to the democratic forms but also a tight political machine. Its critics said it was more likely to compromise its liberalism than dicker with insurgent groups, Left or Right. Gallegos lasted less than a year before a military coup overthrew the regime and installed a decade of bloody tyranny.

After the January revolution the government was headed by Rear Adm. Wolfgang Larrazabal, a rare type of Latin military man — apparently more interested in setting up a republic than in personal power. He belonged to no political party, was widely hailed as the man above parties who could unite the country in its early years of democratic rule. The three major parties—Accion Democratica, the Republican-Democratic Union and COPEI—signed a political truce but then failed to agree on a single candidate for the Presidency. The RDU nominated Larrazabal. The AD picked Betancourt. COPEI ran Caldera.

THE CP'S ROLE: The Communist Party, which had supported the unity moves before and after the revolution, offered their nomination to Larrazabal as the only non-factional man to rally the country and keep it united. He was also the man who had insisted on legalizing the CP and the only candidate who would agree to run on the CP slate. He accepted the CP designation, he said, because he wanted to be the President of all Venezuelans and "the Communists, too, are Venezuelans." He added that he did not share the political philosophy of the CP and had agreed with the other candidates that the CP would not be given a portfolio in the new government.

The CP action drew praise from even the middle-of-the-road press in Caracas which contrasted it with the narrow political factionalism of the other parties. There were rumors of a split within the CP on the decision to support Larrazabal, partly borne out by the returns. The CP chalked up a considerably smaller vote for Larrazabal than it did for its Congressional candidates. It ran second strongest in the Congressional races in Caracas, which accounts for one-fifth of the electorate. The CP elected nine deputies and two senators. Larrazabal piled up a sizable lead there, too, but lost in the countryside where Accion Democratica's old machine and prestige still got out the vote. The AD won control of both houses of Congress.

FIFTY-FIFTY TOO LITTLE: In his first interview as President-elect Betancourt said that Venezuela had not been getting "an adequate share of its oil wealth."



ROMULO BETANCOURT
Venezuela's president-elect

It currently splits profits 50-50 with the foreign oil companies, mainly the U.S. He promised there would be no nationalization but said he would set up a government oil company to undertake all future exploration and development. U.S. oil companies quickly expressed alarm, fearing that a Venezuelan demand for a greater share in her oil would echo in the oil countries in the Middle East.

Betancourt also promised that the public works program, necessary both in itself and to create jobs for the nation's unemployed, would be re-directed. There would be no more glamorous state-built hotels on mountain tops. Instead there would be more industrial projects, slum clearance and housing.

Uruguay

ON THE MORNING of Dec. 2, radio commentator Benito Nardone told his listeners: "The days of the robbers are over." He said: "A pretty gal who works hard on a farm deserves a pretty dress to step out in as much as a city girl. We cannot keep on letting all the money come here to Montevideo so that a few can throw it away at roulette."

Nardone heads the league of Rural Federations and the rural faction of the Blancos which unseated the Colorado party after 93 years of unbroken rule. Blanco (white) and Colorado (red) refer only to the colors worn by the factions in the anti-colonial wars of the 19th century. The Blancos came to power in a revolt of countryside against city.

The GUARDIAN's Ursula Wassermann wrote from Montevideo before the election that the nation was "a curious mixture of totally antiquated feudalism and the modern welfare state." The social welfare state is in the capital; feudalism rules the countryside. A study made a few years ago showed that of 600 rural settlements, only 21 had adequate drinking water, 19 had electricity, 53 had the services of a doctor. Tuberculosis and syphilis are rampant in the backwoods of Uruguay, often hailed as the show piece of democracy in Latin America.

THE BOSS IS OUT: Wassermann wrote that despite the far-reaching social security system of the government, "rural workers remained to a large extent untouched" and the large land owners "unantagonized." That failure and the worsening economic situation unseated the Colorados and the long-standing political boss, Luis Batlle Berres.

The Blancos took control of the nine-man executive council which runs the country instead of a President, and also of both houses of Congress. The Communists retained their two seats in the Chamber of Deputies. Though the Blancos are generally considered the Conservative Party, there were few issues raised in the campaign beyond the needs of the rural Uruguayan.

Chile

LAST SEPTEMBER Chileans chose between an industrialist conservative and a Socialist, supported by a popular front of Socialists and Communists. The conservative, Jorge Alessandri, won by a squeak, 387,297 to 352,915. Salvador Allende, a veteran socialist and leader of popular fronts, drew as many as 40,000 people to his rallies. He ran strong not only in the usually left-wing centers of Antofogasta, the copper town, and Consepcion, in the coal fields, but even in rural communities that are traditionally conservative.

Chile, struggling against a sagging copper market on which it is dependent, is burdened by unemployment and runaway inflation. The Chilean currency is so devalued that, according to a Santiago paper, students demonstrating against a conservative politician "pelted him with ripe vegetables and money." Alessandri opened his administration by promising "policies that will make sense to any businessman."

Guatemala

PRESIDENT Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes is struggling against a persistent Left which, in the severely inhibited politics of Guatemala, centers on the mild liberalism of the Revolutionary Party. In the elections for Mayor of Guatemala City early this month the President threw his full influence against the Revolutionary Party's Luis Fernando Galich. Galich won overwhelmingly. The President's choice ran a poor third.

Abolition

(Continued from Page 1)

Council considering sending petitions to all affiliated locals. Attorney Allan Sieroty, chairman of the petition drive, noted that the ACLU had struck "a nerve center of unprecedented support" in the campaign. The effort showed, he said, that "public feeling against the abuses practiced by the Committee runs strong and deep."

GET YOUR PETITION: How deep it runs was indicated when Los Angeles County Supervisor John Anson Ford, a veteran of 25 years of public service, placed his signature on a petition. Among the highlights of the campaign were three public meetings featuring Alan Barth, chief editorial writer of the Washington **Post**. Noting that there was nothing idle or academic about the ACLU drive, Barth said the Un-American Committee, more than any other body, "has been the source of infection, the breeding ground for the McCarthyism panic."

Petitions may be obtained from the ACLU of Southern California, 2863 W. 9 St., Los Angeles 6, Calif.

Cleveland T-H acquittal asked

Special to the Guardian

CLEVELAND

ATTORNEYS for the seven defendants in this city's Taft-Hartley conspiracy case have filed motions charging that the government knowingly used perjured testimony and suppressed evidence favorable to the defense.

The motion amends an earlier one, filed in October, which presented concessions by the Dept. of Justice that the chief persecution witness, Fred Gardner, lied under oath when he denied having served in the Army. He had served twice, had deserted, and had never been court-martialed.

Complete acquittal or a new trial is asked in the latest motion which declares that the conviction in the case was "unjustly, unlawfully and illegally in violation of the Constitution."

THE LIST: Rules of justice were violated, the motion declares, by "the government's knowing use of false and perjured testimony, by the government's suppression of evidence which would have impeached and discredited testimony of the key prosecution witness, Fred Gardner."

The new motion compiles a list of lies Gardner allegedly made under oath at various times concerning his Army servcie, record as a bigamist, job history, and even birth date. It claims that the government, although it had this information in its files, suppressed it during the trial, and knowingly had Gardner give perjured testimony to conceal it.

Gardner's fear of exposure or prosecution, the motion states, "undoubtedly operated powerfully to slant or falsify all his testimony so as to convict the defendants in the hope of immunity as repayment."

FUNDS NEEDED: Hearings on the motions were scheduled for Federal District Court Dec. 15.

Spokesmen for the Ad Hoc Committee, which has been assisting in raising funds for the defense, say that the new legal proceedings require heavy expenditures, and urge that donations be sent to the Ad Hoc Committee, P.O. Box 2461, East Cleveland Station, Cleveland 12, Ohio.

31,658 FOR McMANUS

Lamont's vote 49,087 in final N.Y. returns

FINAL OFFICIAL election returns from New York State give Corliss Lamont, Independent-Socialist candidate for Senator, 49,087 votes. Other final I-SP tallies are: John T. McManus and Annette Rubinstein for Governor and Lt. Governor, 31,658; Capt. Hugh Mulzac for Comptroller, 34,038; Scott Gray Jr. for Attorney General, 31,746.

ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE 'CURTAIN'

How Russians see the Berlin crisis

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

POLISH CIVILIANS FACE A NAZI FIRING SQUAD IN WORLD WAR II
Russians, Poles and Czechs know the dangers of a new Wehrmacht

MOSCOW

THE WEST should take into account what Soviet public opinion thinks about the Berlin question. The Soviet government, like any other, has to and does consider public opinion before it makes any move at all, and especially one likely to involve it in a serious international crisis.

On no other single issue of foreign affairs do the Soviet people think their government is so right as on the Berlin issue in particular and the German question in general. And, moreover, on no single issue do the peoples of Eastern Europe, especially the Poles and the Czechs, feel that their governments are so correct in supporting the Soviet Union. A view shared by many responsible observers here is that no single issue rallied the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Poland around their own Communist Parties and towards the Soviet Union, as that of Western policies towards Germany in the immediate post-war years.

A NEW THREAT: The Soviet people find it easy to accept that the West was responsible for drawing the line across Germany. In the West that same Germany which Soviet arms did so much to defeat, has risen again. Old Hitler generals are in uniform again. A new Wehrmacht is in being, rapidly being equipped with rockets and nuclear weapons. The Krupps and Thyssens and Henschels are in business again—big business. A new Germany has risen in the West which is beginning to dictate economic, military and political strategy in Europe again.

For Russians, and Czechs and Poles too, they thank their stars that at least these policies so far end at the Elbe river. They read of the Junkers still holding their vast estates; of a Communist Party

subject to repression; of chauvinistic speeches by leaders about the "Bolshevik Menace" even if this time it is only the "Communist Menace" as an excuse for another Drang nach Osten. This all seems very much like the old Germany of Hitler which the Soviet people spilled rivers of blood to destroy.

For the Soviet people, the Western Germany that has emerged is the sort of Germany the West wanted.

THE CONTRAST: East of the line, basic facts are clear. The Nazis are out; the Junkers are out; the big industrialists are out; the militarists are out. There is not a Soviet or a Polish or a Czech citizen who has the slightest fear of anything that goes on in East Germany. This is very important. It is the sort of fact the West has to face up to if it has any hope of influencing Eastern Europe by anything short of force of arms.

Berlin, as it stands, is seen here as just an extension of a remilitarized revenge-thirsty West Germany, planted in the heart of the German Democratic Republic. Every time a Western leader refers to it as a "front-line" city, this confirms for every Russian, Pole or Czech that it is being kept as a forward base, a fifth column center and future jumping-off point for the new Drang nach Osten.

A CITIZEN'S VIEW: Recently an old acquaintance whom I had known in the first post-war years when he was a Soviet correspondent in Berlin told me:

"What makes many of us especially furious," he said, "is when Western leaders, one after the other, shout their claims to hang on forever in Berlin, because they were 'conquerors' over the Germans in World War II. We feel we have not a bad claim as 'conquerors'. But what voice have we got in West Germany where they are arming our former deadly enemies as fast as they can and trying to turn them against us again?

"If continued four-power control of Berlin, why not four-power control for all Germany? The Western powers tore this up because they wanted to go ahead with their own plans for West Germany. From the beginning, they excluded us from any rights to check on their pledges to break up the arms trusts, destroy the arms factories and research institutes and kick out the Nazis, although we invited them to visit our Zone and check up on how thoroughly we were doing the job. To demand for themselves 'conqueror' rights to develop Berlin as a forward base for their espionage and exclude us from any control over the rearming of our late enemies is really a bit thick."

'SOFT' SOLUTION: From the Soviet point of view, Khrushchev's proposal to turn West Berlin into a free city, its status guaranteed by the war-time allies and the United Nations, is a very generous concession. If the proposal had been a much tougher one, such as a brusque demand that with the ending of four-power rule Berlin should be handed over in its entirety to the GDR, this would also have received the unanimous backing of public opinion here. As it is, seen through Soviet eyes—and I think Polish and Czech eyes, too—a "soft" solution has been offered.

All the furor in the West will not alter this, but will confirm suspicions everywhere east of the Elbe that the West really does have sinister designs. (The fact that the Bonn Ministry for All-German Affairs let off one of the strongest blasts against the Berlin proposals was regarded as significant. It is not even a secret in Bonn that this ministry busies itself with the former German lands in Czechoslovakia and Poland and East Prussia which is now part of the Soviet Union.)

If Khrushchev fired his first salvo on Berlin to prove to his own people and those of Eastern Europe what the West is cooking up with West Germany, then he has succeeded brilliantly. Western leaders by their reactions have proved his point. They reject any realistic settlement—even appraisal—of the situation and say in effect: "We will go to war if necessary to hang on to Berlin. Our troops stay in Berlin until the new Wehrmacht is ready to march to liberate it." This is the essence of it all.

THE REALITIES: For the realities of the situation today are that the "unification" of which the West speaks can only come about by the forcible annexation of East Germany by the West. And for every citizen east of the Elbe, this means 1938/39 all over again. After East Germany, the Sudetenland, then the lost territories in Poland—and so on. Long before that happened, of course, most of Central Europe and first of all both parts of Germany would have ceased to exist.

Certainly just as Quemoy and Matsu are not issues in themselves, but only focal points of the whole question of Taiwan and Taiwan Straits and Western blindness in pretending that Peoples' China does not exist, so Berlin is only the focal point of a similar situation in Europe with the Western powers trying to pretend that the German Democratic Republic does not exist. If tempers cool down a bit within the next six months, then Berlin could be the starting point of a European settlement, in which the revised Rapacki Plan, or some variant of it, could become a central feature.

THE ISSUES: BOMB TESTING AND SURPRISE ATTACKS

East-West conferences in Geneva still stalemated

AFTER NEARLY six weeks of negotiations, the conference on controlled suspension of nuclear weapons tests—one of the two East-West conferences now going on at Geneva—the U.S., the Soviet Union and Britain seemed last week to have advanced a few inches. The second conference, on preventing surprise attacks, had not even agreed on an agenda.

On Dec. 8, the Big Three approved the first two articles of a draft treaty on test suspension. Article 1 prohibits test explosions and forbids the signatories to encourage tests by others. Article II establishes a control organization and asks the nuclear powers to cooperate with the organization in discharging its responsibilities.

Agreement came after much haggling over priorities. Moscow wanted agreement on test suspension before discussing a control system; Washington and London wanted the reverse. The deadlock was broken by a decision to take up the two issues simultaneously. But there were still many roadblocks ahead, a major one being the details of the control body.

HOW TO DO IT: At present, the conferees are at loggerheads over the composition of the organization's control commission, which would supervise and direct the control network. Both sides agreed that the U.S., the Soviet Union and Britain should be permanent members. But the Soviet Union wants it to be patterned after the UN Security Council, where major decisions require the approval of all permanent members.

The Western powers say this would give Moscow a built-in "veto." The Soviets say they cannot accept an automatic two-to-one majority against it, as the situation was for so long in the UN. But even if a compromise is reached on this point, difficulties still remain.

Last summer, East-West scientists unanimously agreed that an inspection system was feasible and they outlined the control posts needed for a workable system. Sen. Gore (D-Tenn.), an adviser to the U.S. delegation at Geneva, said the outline would mean that Asia alone would require at least 37 control posts and inspection teams, with 30 technicians attached to each team, plus supporting personnel of 100 per team. He wondered whether Peking would permit several hundred people inquisitively roaming about China and whether the U.S. was expected "to sign a treaty with a nation we do not recognize."

TECHNICAL OR PRACTICAL: The conference on preventing surprise attacks has been deadlocked for five weeks over the West's contention that only "technical" problems should be discussed and the East's contention that "practical" problems should also be tackled.

This conference involves ten powers: Britain, U.S., Canada, France and Italy for the West; Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Albania for the East.

For the West, technical measures mean a vast network of international inspection posts equipped with the most delicate instruments to detect preparation for attacks by missiles, bombers and conventional forces.

The East considers this approach too "mechanistic." It suggests as "practical" steps against surprise attacks the suspension and elimination of nuclear weapons, dissolution of foreign bases from which surprise attacks can be launched, East-West non-aggression pacts and gradual relaxation of tensions in large areas of the world by such means as a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe. The West last week ruled out the proposal for such a zone.

THE MAIN OBSTACLE: Both conferences seemed to be dragging on hopelessly because they were being discussed by the West as though they were unrelated to each other and to events in the rest of the world. For example, last month Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) suggested that the nuclear test suspension talks at Geneva would hardly be helped if the December NATO Council meeting decided definitely to equip West German troops with nuclear arms.

Scientists and other thoughtful observers have noted that the intercontinental ballistic missile is rapidly making far-flung military bases—as well as aerial inspection and warning systems—obsolete. Underground ICBM launching sites are hardly susceptible to aerial detection. Yet the U.S. clings to the demand, as Hanson W. Baldwin noted in the N.Y. **Times**, for "an almost complete 'open skies' inspection plan on a global basis, free access by ground inspection forces to all parts of the world, constant aerial photography and in effect the destruction of the 'Iron Curtain'."

To succeed at Geneva, the first requirement would seem to be an acceptance that East-West problems are primarily political, and that two social systems must learn to live in peaceful competition. **Effective military adjustments will naturally follow such an understanding.**

DR. DUBOIS' MESSAGE TO THE ACCRA CONFERENCE

The future for all of Africa lies in socialism

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, known throughout the black world as the father of Pan-Africanism, was about to leave Moscow for Accra when doctors counselled against his making the journey in Africa's hottest season. Dr. DuBois will be 91 in February. Tired from his long travels since leaving the U.S. last August, Dr. DuBois reluctantly acceded to their advice to spend some time in a rest home in Moscow where he is now—and feeling well.

The address which he was to have delivered in person at the All-African People's Conference in Ghana would have been a crowning achievement of his life and work. In his place the speech, which follows, was really read by his wife, Shirley Graham. Meanwhile, the GUARDIAN's roving correspondent Ursula Wassermann flew from Buenos Aires to Accra to report on the conference. Her full story will appear in next week's issue.

FELLOW AFRICANS: About 1735, my great-great grandfather was kidnaped on this coast of West Africa and taken by the Dutch to the colony of New York in America, where he was sold in slavery. About the same time a French Huguenot, Jacques DuBois, migrated from France to America and his great-grandson, born in the West Indies and with Negro blood, married the great-great granddaughter of my black ancestor. I am the son of this couple, born in 1868, hence my French name and my African loyalty.

As a boy I knew little of Africa save legends and some music in my family. The books which we studied in the public school had almost no information about Africa, save of Egypt, which we were told was not Negroid. I heard of few great men of Negro blood, but I built up in my mind a dream of what Negroes would do in the future, even though they had no past.

Then happened a series of events: In the last decade of the 19th century, I studied two years in Europe, and often heard Africa mentioned with respect. Then, as a teacher in America, I had a few African students. Later at Atlanta University a visiting professor, Franz Boaz, addressed the students and told them of the history of the Black Sudan. I was utterly amazed and began to study Africa for myself. I attended the Paris Exposition in 1900, and met with West Indians in London in a Pan-African Conference. This movement died, but in 1911 I attended a Races Congress in London which tried to bring together representatives from all races of the world. I met distinguished Africans and was thrilled. However, World War killed this movement.

WE HELD A SMALL meeting in 1919 in Paris. After peace was declared, in 1921, we called a much larger Pan-African Congress in London, Paris and Brussells. The two hundred delegates at this congress aroused the fury of the colonial powers and all our efforts for third, fourth, and fifth congresses were only partially successful because of their opposition. We tried in vain to convene a congress in Africa itself.

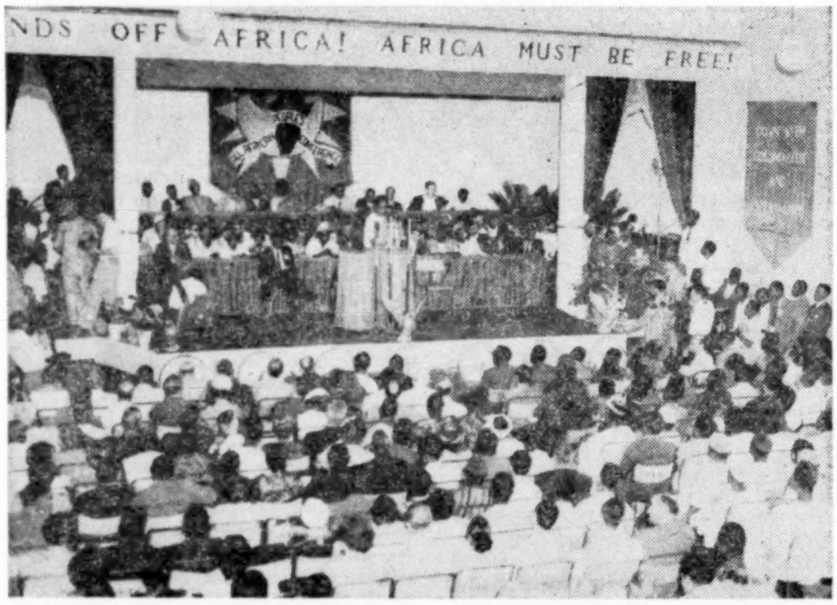
The great depression of the thirties then stopped our efforts for fifteen years. Finally in 1945 black trade union delegates to the Paris meeting of trade unions called for another Pan-African Congress. This George Padmore organized and, at his request, I came from America to attend the meeting at Manchester, England. Here I met Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Johnson of Liberia and a dozen other young leaders.

The program of Pan-Africa as I have outlined it was not a plan of action, but of periodical conferences and free discussion. And this was a necessary preliminary to any future plan of united or separate action. However, in the resolutions adopted by the successive Congresses were many statements urging united action, particularly in the matter of race discrimination. Also, there were other men and movements urging specific work.

World financial depression interfered with all these efforts and suspended the Pan-African Congresses until the meeting in Manchester, 1945. Then, it was reborn and this meeting now in Accra is the sixth effort to bring this great movement before the world and to translate its experience into action.

MY ONLY ROLE in this meeting is one of advice from one who has lived long, who has studied Africa and has seen the modern world.

In this great crisis of the world's history, when standing on the highest peaks of human accomplishment we look forward to Peace and backward to War, when we look up to Heaven and down to Hell, let us mince no words. We face triumph or tragedy without alternative.



GHANA'S PRIME MINISTER NKRUMAH OPENS THE ACCRA CONFERENCE
Behind him on the platform are the leaders of the delegations

Africa, ancient Africa, has been called by the world and has lifted up her hands! Africa has no choice between private capitalism and socialism. The whole world, including capitalist countries, is moving toward socialism, inevitably, inexorably. You can choose between blocs of military alliance, you can choose between groups of political union; you cannot choose between socialism and private capitalism because private capitalism is doomed!

But what is socialism? It is a disciplined economy and political organization in which the first duty of a citizen is to serve the state; and the state is not a selected aristocracy, or a group of self-seeking oligarchs who have seized wealth and power. No! The mass of workers with hand and brain are the ones whose collective destiny is the chief object of all effort.

Gradually, every state is coming to this concept of its aim. The great Communist states like the Soviet Union and China have surrendered completely to this idea. The Scandinavian states have yielded partially; Britain has yielded in some respects, France in part, and even the U.S. adopted the New Deal which was largely socialism; though today further American socialism is held at bay by 60 great groups of corporations who control individual capitalists and the trade union leaders.

ON THE OTHER HAND, the African tribe, whence all of you sprung, was communistic in its very beginnings. No tribesman was free. All were servants of the tribe of whom the chief was father and voice.

When now, with a certain suddenness, Africa is whirled by the bitter struggle of dying private capitalism into the last great battle-ground of its death throes, you are being tempted to adopt at least a passing private capitalism as a step to some partial socialism. This would be a grave mistake.

For 400 years Europe and North Africa have built their civilization and comfort on theft of colored labor and the land and materials which rightfully belong to these colonial peoples.

The dominant exploiting nations are willing to yield more to the demands of the mass of men than were their fathers. But their yielding takes the form of sharing the loot—not of stopping the looting. It takes the form of stopping socialism by force and not of surrendering the fatal mistakes of private capitalism. Either capital belongs to all or power is denied all.

HERE THEN, my Brothers, you face your great decision: Will you for temporary advantage — for automobiles, refrigerators and Paris gowns — spend your income in paying interest on borrowed funds; or will you sacrifice your present comfort and the chance to shine before your neighbors, in order to educate your children, develop such industry as best serves the great mass of people and make your country strong in ability, self-support and self-defense? Such union of effort for strength calls for sacrifice and self-denial, while the capital offered you at high price by the colonial powers like France, Britain, Holland, Belgium and the U.S., will prolong fatal colonial imperialism, from which you have suffered slavery, serfdom and colonialism.

You are not helpless. You are the buyers and to continue existence as sellers of capital, these great nations, former owners of the world, must sell or face bankruptcy. You are not compelled to buy all they offer now. You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mess of Western capitalist pottage. You can not only beat down the price of capital as offered by the united and monopolized Western private capitalists, but at last today you can compare their offers with those of socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, which with infinite sacrifice and pouring out of blood and tears, are at last able to offer weak nations needed capital on better terms than the West.

The supply which socialist nations can at present spare is small as compared with that of the bloated monopolies of the West, but it is large and rapidly growing. Its acceptance involves no bonds which a free Africa may not safely assume. It certainly does not involve slavery and colonial control which the West has demanded and still demands. Today she offers a compromise, but one of which you must beware:

She offers to let some of your smarter and less scrupulous leaders become fellow capitalists with the white exploiters if in turn they induce the nation's masses to pay the awful cost. This has happened in the West Indies and in South America. This may yet happen in the Middle East and Eastern Asia. Strive against it with every fibre of your bodies and souls. A body of local private capitalists, even if they are black, can never free Africa; they will simply sell it into new slavery to old masters overseas.

AS I HAVE SAID, this is a call for sacrifice. Great Goethe sang, "Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren"—"Thou shalt forego, shalt do without." If Africa unites, it will be because each part, each nation, each tribe gives up a part of its heritage for the good of the whole. That is what union means; that is what Pan-Africa means: When the child is born into the tribe the price of his growing up is giving a part of his freedom to the tribe. This he soon learns or dies. When the tribe becomes a union of tribes, the individual tribe surrenders some part of its freedom to the paramount tribe.

When the nation arises, the constituent tribes, clans and groups must each yield power and some freedom to the demands of the nation or the nation dies before it is born. Your local tribal, much-loved languages must yield to the few world tongues which serve the largest numbers of people and promote understanding and world literature.

This is the great dilemma which faces Africans today, faces one and all: Give up individual rights for the needs of Mother Africa; give up tribal independence for the needs of the nation.

FORGET NOTHING, but set everything in its rightful place: the glory of the six Ashanti Wars against Britain; the wisdom of the Fanti Confederation; the growth of Nigeria; the song of the Songhay and Hausa; the rebellion of the Mahdi and the hands of Ethiopia; the greatness of the Basuto and the fighting of Chaka; the revenge of Mutessi, and many other happenings and men; but above all—Africa, Mother of Men.

Your nearest friends and neighbors are the colored people of China and India, the rest of Asia, the Middle East and the sea isles, once close bound to the heart of Africa and now long severed by the the greed of Europe. Your bond is not mere color of skin but the deeper experience of wage slavery and contempt. So too, your bond with the white world is closest to those who support and defend China and help India and not those who exploit the Middle East and South America.

Awake, awake, put on thy strength, O Zion! Reject the weakness of missionaries who teach neither love nor brotherhood, but chiefly the virtues of private profit from capital, stolen from your land and labor. Africa, awake! Put on the beautiful robes of Pan-African socialism.

You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a continent to regain! You have freedom and human dignity to attain!

Robeson message

Among the messages which reached Ghana from all over the world was this one from Paul Robeson in England:

WARMEST GREETINGS to you all. Deeply disappointed to miss this historic conference. Previous and unbreakable commitments hold me here. However hope to greet you soon on the soil of my beloved Africa. My wife Eslanda is on her way and will bring you sincerest and heartfelt wishes for all success in your deliberations and plans for the glorious future of the African peoples.

BOOKS

Witch-hunt is setting for Marzani novel

IN **The Survivor*** Carl Marzani has written a contemporary political novel in which so many intriguing aspects vie for the reader's interest that it is difficult at the end to say which has won out.

Structurally, the setting is a loyalty-security hearing in the 1947 State Department when Gen. George Marshall was Secretary. The subject of the hearing is one Marcus Aurelius Ferranti, a brilliant young non-Communist (even philosophically anti-Communist) radical of Italian birth who fought with the Anarchist contingent in Spain.

Marc has plenty of strikes against him. His sister Tessie is a Communist Party organizer. His brother, a Congressman from a Pennsylvania district, has fingered him as a Communist. His father has been scouted by the FBI as an anti-Mussolini Socialist in Italy, and for reading Communist papers here.

As an OSS man, Marc had once visited Togliatti's office in Rome. But as the hearing develops, the real target emerges; it is not the brash radical with his mixed-up family, but rather General Marshall himself. The China Lobby and the Church (represented by an alarmingly astute and ruthless Jesuit Monsignor from Georgetown) are out to get Marshall and dismantle a foreign policy which is "losing China to Communism."

MARZANI'S THESIS here is not fiction. C. Wright Mills in **The Power Elite** notes the dismissal of John Paton Davies in 1954 because his opinions on China ten years earlier did not jibe with those of the Eisenhower Administration ten years later. Mills connects with this the fact that even before the Eisenhower Administration, Sen. McCarthy's "associate," Scott McLeod, had moved from the FBI to head of both security and personnel at the State Department to implement the theory that "security" is the basic criterion of diplomacy.

A Scott McLeod sits in one of the judgment seats at Marc Ferranti's hearing in the novel, a Catholic ex-FBI security officer who is the chief inquisitor. But countering him—on General Marshall's side if not immediately on Marc's—

is a most remarkable fictional ex-Senator from Virginia. Perhaps more in the image of, say, the late Sen. Joseph France of Maryland, than of any Virginia senator of modern memory, Senator Richard Aldrich Bassett is an old-school liberal Democrat. His theories were tested to his serene satisfaction years earlier against the radicalism of an old friend and contemporary in the Senate, Populist leader Tom Watson, the late Eugene Debs' real-life ideal among politicians.

WHEN HIS MIND is made up to it, the Senator handles McLeodism much as he might brush a crumb off his waistcoat. What he can't brush aside so urbanely is Marc's challenge to his benevolent, libertarian capitalism:

"Are we a more democratic society now, in 1947, Senator, than we were in 1890, when you first entered Congress?"

CARL MARZANI
Swordplay of ideas

Even in 1947, when a Marc Ferranti might still win out in a State Department security hearing, this was a rhetorical question, and the Senator knew it. Was it possible that old Tom Watson was right, that privilege and profit would ruin democracy? Could he, the Senator, have been wrong all these years, and young upstarts now like Marc Ferranti on the righter track? This is an abiding theme of **The Survivor**, and in a sense the Senator is an embodiment of the kind of all-American satisfaction and pride-in-accomplishment which, perhaps as hugely as entrenched money power itself, blocks the view of a real people's power.

AS a socio-political novel, **The Survivor** is one for connoisseurs. The give-and-take during the hearing itself is a liberal education in the backroom practices of diplomacy. But perhaps even more fascinating is the **duello** of ideas waged throughout the book—privilege vs. Populism, liberal vs. Communist, Vaticanism vs. Marxism, etc. Just as Marzani, the State Department and OSS aide who plotted Lt.-Gen. Jimmy Doolittle's bombing targets in Tokyo, has endowed his book with an absorbing familiarity with official Washington; equally so has Marzani, the Oxford scholar and argufier extraordinary, charged his work with nimble argument and a vast-seeming philosophical lore. The Monsignor, for example, tries to exorcise Marc's atheism with the three proofs of St. Thomas Aquinas for the existence of God.

"Take the first, the proof of the First Cause," says the Monsignor.

"You never give up, do you?" Marc says.

"Hardly ever," says the Monsignor. "Do you know it?"

"I know it," says Marc, "and I think it's fallacious, as are the other two proofs, and for the same reasons."

"Embroider," invites the Monsignor; and Marc does embroider, for a page or more of Catholic dogma and an apostate's rebuttal, until finally the Monsignor gives up, hoist on his own Thomist petard, and returns to the less spiritual ground of Vatican politics.

MARC'S ARGUMENT with the Communists (his sister Tessie and her section leader, Zanger) is equally nimble and cocksure, but possibly open to wider dispute among this book's readers than his riposte to the Monsignor.

"The only thing wrong with you," Tessie says to him, "is you're anti-Party."

"I'm not really," Marc says, "but I don't take you people at your own estimate as the wave of the future, especially in America . . ."

What follows among Marc, Tessie and Zanger for several pages is a dialectical delight, if one can take an objective seat in the argument; and this is undoubtedly part of what prompted Marzani's colleague and editor, Angus Cameron, to say in Liberty Book Club's announcement of the book this month as its 1959 Selection of the Year:

"Communists, too, must learn from this novel. If only non-Communists learn from it, then something perhaps is missing . . ."

OLIGARCHY did to Marzani in real life what it sought to do to Marc Ferranti in **The Survivor**—sent him to jail for three years for an alleged perjury about his politics. Marzani made the jail years pay off by there researching and writing much of his later book, **We Can Be Friends**, on the origins of the Cold War.

And in prison then, too, he began to put together what may develop into an American saga of an immigrant Italian family in America in the changing years since the Twenties. Portions of this basic work of Marzani's are threaded functionally throughout **The Survivor**, giving the book unexpected human depth. Marc Ferranti's flashy swordplay with the inquisitors, liberals, Communists and Monsignori may rub off; but few will quickly erase the story of the Ferrantis in the poverty and struggles, the loves and heartbreaks of working-class immigrant America.

—**John T. McManus**

**THE SURVIVOR, by Carl Marzani. Cameron Associates, 100 W. 23 St., New York 11. 448 pp. $5.95. As Liberty Book Club 1959 Selection of the Year, $3.95 to members; for Christmas only, $5 in combination with two selections from among previous Liberty choices. Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23 St., New York 11.*

OUR FEVERISH MEDICAL BILLS

Why we can't afford to get sick these days

HOW SICK do the American people have to be before they rebel completely against organized medicine's tyranny over the price of healing? Richard Carter, a knowing newspaperman and magazine writer, has put the American Medical Association hierarchy and its offshoots under a high-powered microscope in a valuable book* aimed at showing up the failures of "free-enterprise" medical care and the hopes of new group approaches. This is an extremely important book for everyone who wants to see the mystery stripped away from the business of doctoring—and that surely includes everyone.

Physicians, for the most part, are not venal per se. They are terribly busy, harassed day and night by critical, perplexing problems, doing the best they can against uncertainties and unknowns, and beset by personal and economic problems of their own.

It is not surprising that shrewd medico-politicians have been able to establish themselves as powerful authorities working (too often successfully) for the preservation of the profit system in medical care.

FOUNDATION of their laissez faire crusade has always been the "fee-for-service" system under which the AMA and its sprawling empire, right down to the county medical societies, fight self-righteously for the doctor's privilege of maintaining his own individual relationship with the patient, and the patient's privilege of being charged whatever the market will bear.

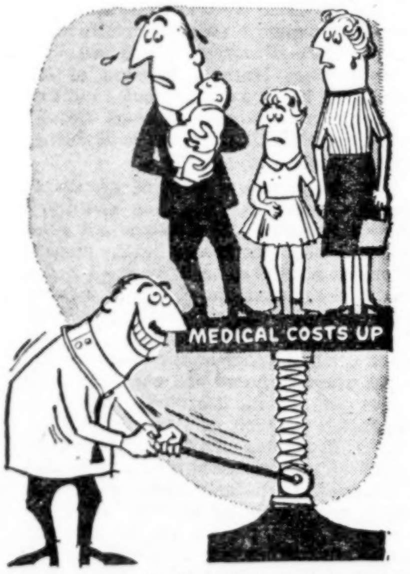
Translated into public-relations terminology, this becomes "free choice of physicians" and anything else becomes "socialized medicine." Carter's book tells how socially responsible groups and individuals are struggling against the power of organized medicine in an effort to bring good care to the people at fair prices.

The practice of medicine is, in a strict sense, a public utility. If you are seriously ill, you must call for help unless you wish to die, or have scruples of conscience. Yet legislative bodies stand in greater fear of organized medicine than of many more clearly recognized utilities.

CARTER is not advocating the nationalization of medicine; he does not have to. He is showing through social and historical documentation how organized medicine's policies and tactics are steadily driving the consumer to seek a better medical deal.

Many of the most active consumer groups have been labor unions. Sometimes they have had big boosts from enterprising industrialists like Henry Kaiser or liberal politicians like Mayor LaGuardia, and the results have been the Kaiser-Permanente Plan and HIP. Or they have had potent bargaining power, like the United Mine Workers, and the results have been a welfare fund that is bringing a revolution in medical care to the mining states.

These, and many other developments along various lines, are described in lively fashion to show the ferment lying beneath the AMA's frantic publicity slogan, and to drive home a point—that it has been amply demonstrated that there are effective ways to have good doctors providing excellent care, in fine hospitals, at fair and stable prices that most people can afford.



American Flint Workers, Toledo

Next time you're laid up for a few days and tire of radio or TV, get this book. It isn't guaranteed to cure you; it may even aggravate the symptoms. But it certainly will indicate where you and your doctor can turn for relief from some of our current excruciating socio-medical ailments.

—**P. L. Acebo**

**THE DOCTOR BUSINESS, by Richard Carter. Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N.Y. 274 pp. $4.*

It works in Britain

Ann Arbor, Mich.—About 80% of British doctors are in favor of so-called "socialized medicine," and feel it permits them to do a better job than before.

So stated Dr. John Scott, chief medical officer of health of the County of London and honorary physician to the Queen, in a recent address at University of Michigan School of Public Health.

Dr. Scott said the British community health system "allows the citizen who needs medical services to get them when he needs them without having to worry about the bill."

Maternity and child welfare treatment are far ahead of the U.S. in uniformity of care, he said. Also, he observed that health service in British schools exceeds that in American schools.

"School children between the ages of five and 15 receive a minimum of four inspections by doctors," he commented. "The U.S. gives at most three inspections during this period."

—**Reading Labor Advocate, 12/5**

The new Congress

(Continued from Page 1)

will be held within the limits imposed by the Cold War. Though they promise a search for peace and an inquiry into the causes of mistrust of the U. S. abroad, the Democrats reiterate former Secy. of State Acheson's "positions of strength" doctrine. Their program of increased social welfare is set within a framework of greater spending for arms.

As a result, the most liberal proposals for domestic reform are at best half-measures, but they are still in sharp contrast to the Administration policy of retrenchment and repression.

As an anti-depression measure, the Democrats propose to spend a minimum of $500,000,000 in distressed areas to finance new industries, provide needed public works and retrain workers. The funds would be used in both urban and rural communities; one aim would be to pump some economic health back into the chronically sick coal regions and the Northern textile towns whose mills have moved South.

VETOED LAST TIME: Last September President Eisenhower vetoed a similar bill sponsored by Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.) and Payne (R-Me.). That measure called for an expenditure of $275,000,000. It is likely that the President, in his crusade against "spenders," will again use the veto if a depressed areas bill is put on his desk. But the chances of over-riding a veto will be greater in the next Congress. Of 47 House seats which switched from Republicans to Democrats, 37 are located in surplus labor areas. And ten of the 13 Democratic Senators who replaced Republicans are from states where there are areas which would qualify for aid.

Raising the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and expanding the coverage will be a recurring objective in the next Congress. Currently 24,000,000 workers are included, but another 20,000,000 are left out of the $1-an-hour minimum

Wall Street Journal
"I believe we should adopt a new foreign policy and make it retroactive."

coverage. These include 13,000,000 retail and service workers, such as hotel employes, and some 2,000,000 regularly employed farm workers. The Administration wants to leave the $1 minimum where it is, but is expected to ask for coverage of an additional 2,500,000 workers. Labor-backed Democrats will push for the higher minimum and for bringing 10,000,000 more workers under the law's protection.

T-H AGAIN: Revision of the Taft-Hartley law is another prime target of the unions. They would have Congress knock out the section under which 19 states have adopted "right-to-work" laws banning the union shop. Defeat of such laws in four of five states in November spurred the Democratic Advisory Committee to urge Taft-Hartley revision. But President Eisenhower has virtually said he would veto any such action and here the chances of overcoming a veto seem slim.

The unions will have to be on guard against measures to tighten, rather than loosen, the reins on labor. On Dec. 5 Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield told the National Assn. of Manufacturers that the President would propose new legislation not only to curb union "dictators" and clean up racketeering, but also to "prohibit the use of union dues as a slush fund to elect Democrats."

In the last Congress the AFL-CIO supported the Kennedy-Ives bill which provided for the public reporting of union funds and the regular election of officers. The likelihood, is, however, that Democratic Sen. John L. McClellan of Arkansas, facing re-election in 1960, will continue his hearings into labor rackets and that his "findings" will form the basis for a more restrictive bill supported by a conservative Republican-Democratic coalition.

OTHER MEASURES: Other social security proposals of the Democratic Advisory Committee include: removal of the requirement that disability benefits begin only at the age of 50; an increase in monthly security benefits by 10% in the next year and another 10% in three or four years to bring the average benefit up to $100 a month; health insurance for the aged to provide hospital care for 50-60 days a year and a limited amount of nursing service, and increased Federal aid to hospital construction and to local cooperative health insurance programs.

Herblock in Washington Post
"Can you make out if they look real determined?"

The spectacle of closed schools in the South has increased the demand for new civil rights legislation. Even President Eisenhower has suggested he might ask for an extension of the life of the Civil Rights Commission. But the Administration is expected to stop at that point.

Other civil rights measures fall into four main categories. The enactment of Section III of the 1957 Civil Rights Act would empower the Attorney General to start civil injunction suits against persons who deprive citizens of any constitutional right. Sen. Douglas and others have proposed legislation which would put Federal funds and resources at the disposal of communities which want to integrate schools despite the obstruction of their state governments.

PRESSURE NEEDED: Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) has promised to introduce an anti-dynamite bill on the first legislative day, making it a crime to transport explosives across state lines to be used to damage any education, religious, charitable or civic building. Another measure, proposed by the Democratic Advisory Committee, would outlaw use of the mails to distribute hate literature designed to incite violence.

The Advisory Committee objective of "humanizing and liberalizing" the nation's immigration laws will face the powerful opposition of Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), chairman of the House Immigration Subcommittee. The present law limits immigration to 150,000 annually and discriminates against nationals of South and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and the West Indies. Liberal Democrats would raise the quota to 250,000 and admit immigrants on a first-come, first-served basis. No Congressional leaders have proposed democratizing the cold war procedures under which the Naturalization and Immigration Service hounds the nation's foreign-born.

Few bills ever come out of the Congressional hopper in the form in which they are introduced. National pressures, local and regional demands, and a great deal of log-rolling among legislators shape the final product. The posibility of chalking up a liberal record in the 86th Congress largely depends on the extent to which the voters keep the heat on the Democrats whom they placed in charge.

McCRACKIN CASE

Pacifist pastor gets six-month sentence

AFTER ONLY 19 MINUTES of deliberation a Cincinnati jury on Dec. 12 convicted the pacifist pastor Rev. Maurice McCrackin of refusing to obey a summons of the Internal Revenue Service. Federal District Judge John H. Druffel then sentenced the minister to six months in jail and a $250 fine. After the verdict the judge denounced McCrackin in a wild speech confusing pacifism and communism and provoking the court room audience to gasps of astonishment. Judge Druffel told the Rev. McCrackin:

"You have admitted giving your donation to the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peacemakers instead of paying taxes. Those groups are notorious and have overwhelming Soviet sympathies. We won't go into whether you are a card carrying Communist or not. . . . I don't know any more pious way to be a traitor than that."

McCrackin's attorney said he would appeal the case but that step might be complicated by the pastor's non-cooperation. It would be impossible unless he signed the appeal papers.

The UN Assembly

(Continued from Page 1)

olution on Cyprus calling for continued negotiations "to secure a peaceful, democratic and just solution, in accordance with the principles of the UN."

MORE TROUBLE AHEAD: The resolution was bitterly resented in Cyprus. It threatened to precipitate even uglier incidents than those already provoked by Britain's tough policy and by attempts at de facto partition by setting up a tripartite British-Greek-Turkish administration.

Suppression by force and by divisive tactics of Cypriote aspirations has inevitably led to Greek-Turkish clashes and to terrorism against British soldiers and civilians. This, in turn, has further brutalized the British in Cyprus, soldiers and civilians alike.

Next move on Cyprus is up to the British Parliament and to the December NATO meeting in Paris. NATO members Greece and Turkey will undoubtedly present it as another headache for ailing Secy. Dulles.

HUNGARIAN ISSUE: For the last three years Washington, obsessed with the idea of liberating the Eastern European countries, has found in the Hungarian issue a handy stick with which to belabor the Soviet Union in the UN. This year, the U.S., Britain and Australia proposed the appointment of a UN "agent" who would report on whether or not Hungary was preparing for free elections and showing respect for human rights. The proposal was carried 54 to 10, with 15 abstentions.

In the debate such stalwarts of freedom as Pakistan's playboy Prince Aly Khan condemned Hungarian "despotism" and spoke fervently for democracy.

The resolution's proponents, however, ignored an appeal for a full UN investigation of the violation of human rights of at least 80 physicians, scientists, students and trade unionists recently arrested in Spain on undisclosed charges. The appeal was signed by Saul Bellow, Prof. Francisco Garcia Lorca, Carson McCullers, Dorothy Parker, Prof. Meyer Shapiro and 16 other writers, editors, educators and attorneys.

ALGERIA: The political committee had approved a resolution recognizing Algeria's "right to independence" and asking for negotiations between France and the Algerian Provisional Government, three of whose representatives were sitting in the distinguished visitors' section as honored guests of the Tunisian delegation. The Assembly failed to give the necessary two-thirds majority. The resolution, raised by the Afro-Asian bloc, came up in the adjournment rush shortly before midnight on Saturday, Dec. 13. The assembly will convene again in February to consider the demand for independence by the French and British Cameroons.

THE STATUS QUO BOYS: During the Assembly's 13th session, several members indicated that for them time had stood still.

- The Netherlands, for example, remained adamantly opposed to giving up West Irian in the Indonesian archipelago.
- The South African delegation again walked out when discrimination against people of Indian origin in South Africa was discussed.
- The French delegation opposed UN recognition of Guinea — which recently voted to leave the French African empire—but at the last minute prudently abstained as Guinea was admitted as the 82nd member of the UN.
- The representative of Chiang Kai-shek could not bring himself to vote for an innocuous resolution on "peaceful and neighborly relations among nations" which all other UN members endorsed.

HANDWRITING ON WALL: In general, the Assembly session highlighted two points: (1) Washington's built-in majority support was no longer functioning smoothly; (2) On many issues, especially colonial freedom and economic aid, the Asian-Africans mustered greater support than before; and on issues effecting international security, some formerly pro-Western nations openly sided with the socialist countries.

But the Assembly suffered from the fact that many critical international issues, such as the situation in the Taiwan Strait, were being discussed outside the UN because the 600,000,000 people of China remained unrepresented at this world forum. However, the handwriting was on the wall: fewer and fewer members are willing to support Washington's rigid opposition to UN recognition of Peking.

the SPECTATOR

The witches of Sartre

"IT'S NOT AS THOUGH I would ever have done it that way. It's like looking through a strange and exotic screen and hearing echoes of my idea. I can see the validity of theirs. The play and the film are separate works and they have made a fascinating motion picture."

It was Arthur Miller, author of the play, **The Crucible**, talking about Jean-Paul Sartre's film, **Witches of Salem**, which was based on Miller's play. High praise indeed (and rare) from a writer for the theater whose work has been made into a film—but accurate too. For this French film, now playing at the Little Carnegie in New York, is a remarkably sensitive and probing study of the prevalence of witches in Puritan Salem of 1692, and of the philosophy of Puritanism itself.

Miller's play about that dreadful time was taken from the record—the record which described the trials in which 19 persons were condemned for consorting with the Devil and hanged on the great rock overlooking Salem Bay. The film enlarges on the record with the fluid imagination of a Sartre who is perhaps more penetrating in tracing human motivations in his film than Miller was in his play.

Sartre has brought the sexual implications of the Miller play into the open by making Elizabeth Proctor a woman terrified by religion into suppressing her passion, and driving her husband John into an affair with a single-minded young housemaid. Here the jealousy motive for the accusation of the wife by the maid is painfully clear—as is the effect of the unnatural Puritan philosophy on the adolescent girls of Salem in general. The understanding that comes to Elizabeth, through her own suffering and through the torment of her husband, is movingly developed, as is the strength they both acquire through the release of their real feelings.

SIMONE SIGNORET and YVES MONTAND
In a scene from the "Witches of Salem"

CURIOUS TO RECALL WHAT I had written about **The Crucible**, which I had reviewed in the GUARDIAN early in 1953, I went back to the clips and found, among other things, this: "There has been criticism that Miller did not clearly enough show that the [witchcraft] trials were staged to paralyze a public that was becoming restive in the brutality of a tottering theocracy. There is room for argument there . . ."

But there is no room for such argument in the **Witches of Salem**. Sartre has vividly presented the picture of a propertied new gentry, in alliance with a rigid and hypocritical Church, oppressing the land-poor farmers and artisans. And he has shown, as history bears out, that the witches and the trials were used by the oppressors to keep the resentment of the people from boiling over. At the film's end, in the midst of tragedy, the trials themselves cause the people to rise and once again, the timelessness of man's struggle for freedom is underscored.

THE FILM IS MAGNIFICENTLY ACTED and directed. It is hard to imagine a more sensitive rendering of Elizabeth Proctor than that given by Simone Signoret, an actress of unusual perception and intelligence. As John Proctor, Yves Montand (Miss Signoret's husband in real life) gives a splendid interpretation of a tortured, passionate man seeking a way to happiness in a world where happiness was regarded as sin. Raymond Rouleau doubles as director and actor in the role of the prosecutor, and is superb in both. And the photography of Claude Renoir catches the bleak mood of turn-of-the-century Massachusetts impeccably.

The **Witches of Salem** will be shown outside of New York too. Watch for it in your area. It is a film for all time.

—James Aronson

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NEW YORK

Ed Note: *This ad is paid for by a reader who saw* The Man Who Never Died *because of Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein's review in the* GUARDIAN. *This is his message:*

I want EVERYONE to see the play about Joe Hill I saw last night!

because it's a play about everyone and anyone . . It's the story of individual justice—of the rights of man, of the struggle of labor—of the strength of union.

Barrie Stavis wrote the story of Joe Hill in a play, THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED. He caught the very essence of the early days of union history. He tells the saga of the singing Joe Hill who put into his ballads the aspirations of the working man, the hopes each of us holds closest.

The play is moving, taut, eloquent, universal.

Many of us cried, shouted bravo at the curtain.

My wife and I left quietly. We went home to think the story through alone.

The next day I phoned the producer and told him I wanted to place this ad at my expense, as a public service. He agreed to offer special discount prices to GUARDIAN readers. This is the producers' public service. Mine is this ad. Yours is a service you owe yourself—to see THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED.—Phone immediately for your reservation.

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CHICAGO

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Dec. 31, 9 p.m. until ???
Mar-Lou Ballroom, 4003 W. Roosevelt at Pulaski. Isadore Hudson's Orchestra. Entertainment, Food & Drink. Adm. 90c; cover charge 50c. Auspices: Chicago Committee to Defend Democratic Rights, DE 2-7142.

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NEW YORK

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Announcing the opening on Jan. 19 of
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of 20 new courses in "The World Today," "American Life," and "Marxist Theory." Seven 1½ hr. sessions, once weekly, from Jan. 19 through March 6, starting at either 6:45 or 8:30 p.m.
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JOSEPH NORTH, editor of The Worker, author "No Men Are Strangers," will speak on the Berlin situation and its relation to peace. Tues., Dec. 23, 8:30 p.m., at Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Av. (Bronx). Questions and discussion. Adm. free. Auspices: N. E. Bronx C.P.

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The Freedom Guild presents the **ANNUAL FREEDOM HOLIDAY CABARET PARTY**, Fri., Dec. 26, 10 p.m. until ??? Celebrity Club, 35 E. 125 St. African dancers and drummers. For reservation and tickets call MAin 2-3626.

New York Intercultural Society presents **DR. OAKLEY C. JOHNSON** on "Humanism—A Higher Way of Life." Fri., Dec. 19, 8:30 p.m., Polonia Club, 201 2 Av. Cont. Social.

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Marxist school opens winter term in N. Y.

A winter term of 20 new courses on American life, the world today, and Marxist theory will open on Jan. 19 at the Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11 St. Registration will be taken from 2 to 9 p.m. daily, starting Mon., Jan. 5.

Among the new instructors will be Louis Weinstock, veteran trade-union leader; Sue Warren, formerly editor of **Far Eastern Spotlight**; J. M. Budish, columnist for the **Freiheit**; and Hyman Lumer, James E. Jackson, and William Albertson, respectively National Education Director, Negro Affairs Secy., and New York State secy. of the Communist Party. They will join faculty members Herbert Aptheker, Victor Perlo, Harry K. Wells, Sidney Finkelstein and Harold Collins.

Classes will meet for seven one-and-one-half hour sessions once weekly at 6:45 and 8:30 p.m. The full fee for each course is $6. Brochures containing course descriptions and details of registration are now available at the Faculty's offices.

N.Y. amnesty concert for Winston & Green

THERE will be a concert for Christmas amnesty for Henry Winston and Gilbert Green on Sunday, Dec. 21, at the New Terrace Garden, 2145 Boston Rd. (at 181st St.), the Bronx, beginning at 2 p.m. Howard Fried, operatic tenor, will sing and there will be poetic readings by Edith Siegel. John Abt, attorney for Winston and Green, will be the featured speaker.

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

THE GALLERY

A CROWD OF ABOUT 600 gathered in Newport, Del., last week to greet the arrival of Santa Claus as part of a promotion scheme arranged by local businessmen. The crowd shivered patiently for an hour while a school band and a local toastmaster kept them diverted. Suddenly a plane appeared overhead, circled twice and dropped Santa Claus in full costume and parachute. As children squealed with anticipation, Santa wafted to earth. But someone forgot to calculate the wind velocity and Santa sailed past the waving crowd into a treetop in Glenville, a half-mile away.

The day was saved by volunteer firemen who rushed to the rescue and brought back Santa in time to distribute toys to the children. And so, it was a merry Christmas in Newport for all—except Santa, who caught cold.

THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT is considering a claim for a pension filed by Franz von Papen, Hitler's former ambassador and chief foreign intriguer. . . . At their meeting in Moscow next April, the American and Soviet Veterans of the Elbe Link-Up plan to establish annual Elbe awards to be selected by a committee of citizens of both countries. The awards, to be financed equally by private individuals in both countries, will be given to: ten children (five from each country) for essays on building a better world; ten disabled World War II veterans; and relatives of deceased veterans. Prizes will include paid vacations and university scholarships in the opposite country. Suggestions are welcomed by the secretary of the American vets, Joseph Polowsky, 4126 Sheridan Rd., Chicago 13, Ill. . . . Geoffrey Curnow in Amersham, England, opened his door to pick up the Sunday papers and found a monkey in a yellow vest sitting on the front step. Before Curnow could slam the door, the monkey ran past him into the kitchen. Curnow called the police, but they told him to "lie down and sleep it off." They came later when a woman reported her pet monkey missing. Curnow, visibly shaken, said: "It wasn't so much the monkey that threw me, but that waistcoat—ghastly color it was."

De Lach, Amsterdam
"No darling, I am NOT in a night club."

CATHARYN ELWOOD, nutritionist, told a Natl. Health Fedn. convention that the cause of President Eisenhower's heart disease was "those pancakes he loves—greasy foods—Mamie's fudge." . . . French bars are boycotting Scotch whisky in retaliation for a British court ruling that Spanish sparkling wine could legally be labeled champagne. . . . There is a unique thief operating in the Washington, D.C., area who specializes in robbing over-weight landladies. This is how he works: He answers an ad for a room or an apartment and, while the landlady shows him around, he lets it be known casually that he is an employe of the National Institute of Health. This brings the conversation around to health and then he directs it to obesity. Shortly he produces a box of tablets which he identifies as a new drug developed by NIH for quick reducing. Before the housekeeper can collect her wits, he induces her to take two tablets. They are really fast-working sleeping pills. While the landlady slumbers, the thief ransacks her house. In a few hours she awakes; robbed, disillusioned and not one ounce thinner.

WHEN THE FILM based on Ernest Hemingway's **Old Man and the Sea** had its world premiere last month in Washington, D.C., Felipe Pazos, a 13-year-old Cuban student who plays a leading role, was not invited. Cuban Ambassador Don Arroyo, the official host, did not ask the boy or his family because they are active on the side of Fidel Castro. "We would not have gone even if he'd invited us," Felipe said. "Arroyo represents a dictatorship that we are opposed to. It is a matter of principle." . . . Soviet physician S. Gurevich offers the following advice to retired people who want to live long "without decrepitude or senility": Get out of bed at 7 or 8 a.m. Do exercises recommended by a doctor. Have a shower, a light breakfast and a short walk. Then work for two or three hours and take another short walk before lunch. Follow lunch with a little reading or housework, then a short rest. A light supper and another short walk should finish the day. Don't smoke or drink. Eat lightly four or five times a day—not too much meat or eggs. "Idleness," he says, "is the most evil enemy of a man's health." . . . That may be all right for Russians, but Dr. A. I. Lansing of the Gerontological Society says that Americans living to 80 or 100 "could easily constitute a major disaster." Such longevity when cancer, heart diseases and hardening of the arteries are eliminated, he argues, will cause "the bankruptcy of our insurance companies and financial embarrassment of our Federal Government."

MARKET RESEARCHER ALFRED POLITZ believes "the solution to marketing problems is not necessarily one of giving consumers what they want, but rather to make consumers want what we, the marketers, want them to want." . . . Alex Inkeles, professor of sociology at Harvard, says that the more often you laugh the higher you are likely to be in the social scale. Also, "lower status women" are more likely to cry. . . . Book Note: A strip teaser in New York calls herself "Low Lita." . . . Arnold B. Sikes, executive secy. to Gov. Faubus, is pushing the Arkansas legislature to increase salary appropriations for servants at the governor's mansion. There are now three, all Negro, who earn $1,500, $1,800 and $2,100 annually. Sikes reasons that if the integration situation becomes more acute, they will have to be replaced by white folk—who naturally are entitled to higher pay. . . . The American Medical Assn. News says: "**It's a waste of time to argue with a fellow who wears a shirt more than two days.**"

—Robert E. Light

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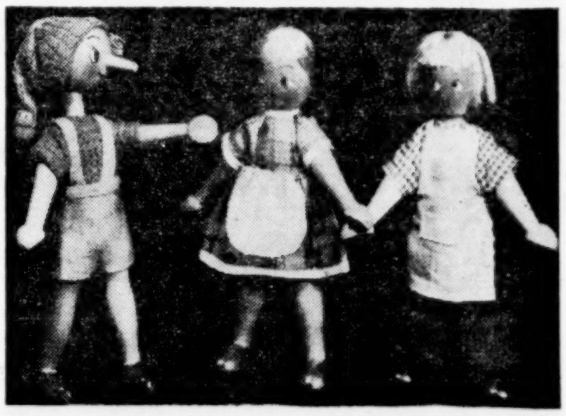

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